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/61 cont./
informal collaboration (10).

10. /From p. 65 of the original source./ Among the Mbüá of Paraguay they told me about having mutirões -- which they call putỹvõ -- of men and, more rarely, of women. The latter organize them to open the holes in the planting of the maize. Incidentally, these Mbüá consider all of planting women's work, "by divine command," allowing the collaboration of the men only in the case of having few women. Except in fishing with timbo, of collective interest, the putỹvõ /sic/ is made for a certain family, not being accompanied or followed by any celebration. Perhaps this is explained by the fact that the Mbüá are not familiar with any fermented drink, which distinguishes them from the Kayová and the Ñandéva.

[243]
[462]
[184]
[273]

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621
•[591]

A manifest expression of the solidarity of the local group, which, as has already been emphasized, is reduced in the final analysis to a mere association of great-families, the puxirão represents one of the few co-operative institutions by which the different groups of kindred are linked economically. Besides that, it is quite true, the distribution of the yield from hunting is to be emphasized. But as far as anything else is concerned, mutual aid in the economic sector, although constant and never lacking, takes place on an entirely informal plane. Each family plants for itself and considers itself the owner of its clearings; nevertheless, consumption assumes a quite communitarian form, particularly in times of want. Not noticeably affecting the self-sufficiency and the economic freedom of the different great-families that make up the local group, the exchange of services among them consequently assumes a genuine character of symbiosis.

[596]

2: Schaden--86 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/73 cont./

156 157 554 622 [829] [648] [178] the dignitary. The fiandeirú Bastião used to tell me unhappily: "Everybody leans on me, for I am fiandeirú." In the majority of the present-day villages, the capitão, the official chief of the group, is a relatively young individual, chosen by the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and one who in general does not ascribe much importance to the dignity of his office -- except in order to beg.

/74/

2. Marriage

584 [178] [593] [585] [593] [594] Among the Ñandéva and Kayová in former times the initiative for the marriage started with the mother of the bride, or, sometimes, of the groom. Nowadays, in the majority of cases it is the boy who takes it. He speaks to the girl and her father, who, in turn, serves as an intermediary between the suitor and the girl's mother. When the boy goes to his future father-in-law, it is in order to reach an understanding man to man, considered less difficult. The father concerns himself very little about the marriage problems of his children, in contrast to the mother, who is really concerned about her daughter's future, asking her opinion in the matter; the daughter, in turn, asks for her advice and due consent. The married daughter, by the way, when she lives near her mother, likes to spend the day with her.-- Among the reasons for refusing a suitor, there were indicated to me in the south of Mato Grosso: his being a drunkard, a vagabond, economically incapable, a member of another subgroup of the tribe, of Paraguayan or Luso-Brazilian origin, or simply personal antipathy.

584 593 581 584 591 Among the Kayová and Ñandéva of this region there are cases in which the mother suggests to her daughter a husband -- known as orderly, diligent, and the possessor perhaps of riding animals, his own home, clearings, livestock --, and she herself, the mother, will speak with the boy. The more diligent youths already live in their own house as bachelors, being economically independent.

2: Schaden--87 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani Sh44

/74 cont./

584 Among the Kayová, marriage was more a problem of the two families, who arranged it beforehand, imposing it on the young people: in this subgroup, by the way, it is a little earlier than in the other two. Nowadays many suitors already make their [583] will prevail. People tell of examples, even though they are isolated ones, in which the young man abducted the bride, when [109] she is unable to overcome her parents' resistance. Repression of this "abuse" has been undertaken by the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

583 Among the Mbüá the initiative for the amorous life is taken by the boy. There is a sort of trial marriage: many men have a "companion" (txeirũ kuñĩ vae) before marriage. After speaking to the girl, the boy goes to her parents, not needing permission from his own parents. He takes his companion to the paternal home, where he lives with her for a while and where she cooks together with the boy's mother. If there is a child from these relations and if they "hit it off," that is, if there is [584] accord, they discuss marriage. The lad gathers up his courage and asks the father of the girl for his permission, while she asks the mother of the boy. Among the Mbüá of Xapecó, I was told [585] that the ñanderú officiates at the marriage, which is commemo- [622] rated with a dance. The trial marriage -- I do not know what its 583 /75/ frequency is -- is characterized by two important traits: • 591 first, by the patrilocality, and, in the second place, by the [585] absence of defined economic duties. Only with a definitive union does the couple go on to have its own home, coming to constitute a partially independent group of production and consumption. It is important to note that the boy obtains his liberty [593] early, while the girl practically remains tied to her family of origin to the end of her life.

582 They marry early: among the Kayová and Mbüá the
184 woman at about 14 years of age, the man a little later; among the Ñandéva, the woman at about 16, the man at 17 or 18.
836 Kayová and Ñandéva forbid premarital relations, while the Mbüá,
184 as we have seen, institutionalize them. The Kayová aver that
825 jaguars preferably eat the children of unmarried women and
848 adulteresses.
684

2: Schaden--94 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/79 cont./

178 581 596 586 survived among the present-day Kayová, that of Paí Chiquinho (Panambí), illustrates very well the importance of a masculine personality in maintaining the traditional pattern. How can anyone become chief of a large great-family if he himself abandons the woman to whom he is married?

59 178 [551] [551] If we ask a Kayová boy, "Who are you?" he usually identifies himself with reference to his father: for instance: "Isidroxaý," son of Isidro. It is, perhaps, a reminiscence of the primitive system, in which the domestic group always lived under the protection of a male. Nowadays many men spend a major part of the time working in the changa /as hired labor/ outside the village, and the children grow up under the protection of the mother. The bonds that bind them to her and to the maternal relatives are much stronger. Moreover, the mother remains the [171] same for life, whereas the father may "change," a situation, incidentally, also encountered in the rural populations of the Paraguayan border. And when he marries, the male child [606] easily frees himself from his family of origin, drawn to that of [591] the father-in-law, with whom and near whom he lives for some time, indeed by virtue of the institution of matrilocality; the married daughter, for her part, stays near her mother. Thus the persistence of the ancient matrilocality is combined with the loss of paternal authority, in the sense that only in exceptionally favorable conditions does the traditional organization of the great-family continue.

612 621 In any case, however, in all the Guaraní communities the solidarity of the kin group /Port. grupo parental/ continues to be superimposed on that of the village or local group. Wherever there are Guaraní, one hears talk in the kindreds /Port. parentelas/ that they are set against kindreds. The social ties that bind the inhabitants of a local group, on the other hand, are of a consistency /80/ so weak and so little permanent that the composition of the community of the village is subject to continual modifica- [829] tions. And the group in migration -- the "trinca" /seizing or

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Face painting for women and children is indicated for the aboriginal Cayuá, with the use of both the red *urucú*[1] (*Bixa orellana*) and the dark *genipá* (*Genipa americana*) dyes. Judging from the present, only the women were expected to engage in smoking for pleasure, and the pipe was the common means by which tobacco was used by them. Some special use of tobacco as an intoxicant is likely for the shaman or *paʸé*. Pipes were molded of clay or carved of hard wood, sometimes the root of the *araçá* bush (tentatively identified with the *guava* or *goiaba*).

The aboriginal Cayuá had mouth blown flutes of bamboo. Stamping tubes[2] made of a large section of *taquara* (bamboo), of which the node of the lower end was left unperforated, were used by the women in group ceremonials. When the end was thumped on the ground, the *takuapú*, as it is called, emitted a dull resonating sound. The gourd rattle or *mbarakâ* was used by the men, and this instrument was important in connection with the religious and curing ceremonies. The *takuapú* and *mbarakâ* were probably kept in a sort of rack like an umbrella stand in a special place when they were not in use.

The musical bow in one form or another appears old in the area, although it would perhaps be impossible now to say if the miniature bow is aboriginal. (Musical bows do not seem to be indigenous to the South American tropical forest.) This is held in the mouth and stroked by another tiny bow strung inside of the first.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The basic social unit of the Cayuá was formerly the extended family, headed by an old man. Patrilocality is putatively indicated, though matrilocality was probably at least temporary. Marital locality was in any case tempered by the marriage of girls with the mother's brother. Descent seems to most investigators and to the present writer to have been patrilineal.[3]

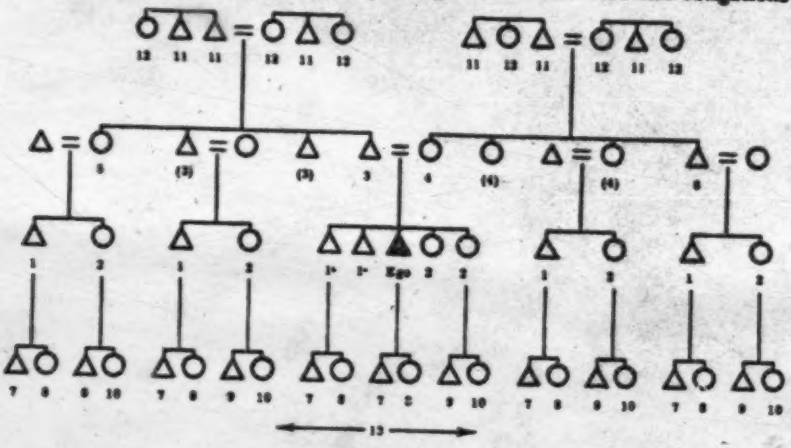
The extended family was closely related to other aspects of Cayuá culture, notably to the kinship system, to economic organization, and to aboriginal architecture and the typical dwelling unit, the *tapâi*. The *tapâi*, a large structure, was the dwelling unit of the extended family. Here there was ample space for housing the several small families which comprised the larger unit. In fact, a structure of such a size and arrangement—a sort of "longhouse"—could not well have been adapted to any other size of group and organization of occupants. The small elementary families were distributed along the length of the dwelling, each stringing its hammocks, building its fire, and storing its equipment in its own section. Sections, however, were not parti-

[2] Cf. Izikowitz, 1935, pp. 151 ff.

[3] Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1946. One of the co-authors of this article, Galvão, worked with the writer among the Cayuá. His conclusions, both privately expressed and those published in the above article, accord in many respects with those of the writer, as far as social organization of the Cayuá is concerned. Cf. also Watson, V. D., 1944.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

to find among the modern Cayuá, as well as the Tapirapé and Tenetehara (Guajajara), any indication of the admission—let alone the preference—of such a marriage.[66] This marital form has been reported by several of the early chroniclers of Brazil among the coastal Tupí and is dealt with in more modern terms by Kirchhoff[67] and Lowie.[68] In the coastal tribes of the 16th century the groom, unless he were the maternal uncle of the bride, became a sort of servant of his father-in-law, aiding him in economic undertakings, avenging him in disputes, and similar obligations. There were also obligations



Key

1. Brother
2. Sister
3. Father
4. Mother
5. Father's sister
6. Mother's brother
7. Son
8. Daughter
9. Nephew
10. Niece
11. Grandfather
12. Grandmother
13. Grandchildren (irrespective of sex)
+. Older
−. Younger
( ). Slightly modified term

Ego being a Woman:

7. Nephew 8. Niece 9. Son 10. Daughter

FIG. 1.—Cayuá Kinship Terminology

to the brother-in-law associated with the usage. The arrangement related to a presumed pattern of temporary (or for that matter, perhaps permanent) matrilocality; but if the mother's brother were the groom, residence might not be matri- but patrilocal. In this case, the sister's daughter (the bride) came to reside with her husband-uncle. This was reasonable if the bride were

[66] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, pp. 22-23. [67] Kirchhoff, 1931. [68] Lowie, 1930.

3:Watson E24,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

considered as the payment or return of a "debt" incurred when the bride's mother was originally married out of the extended family group in which she had grown up; the daughter was returned to her mother's extended family by the consummation of marriage with the mother's brother. The original debt was thus cancelled and the father of the girl released from his obligations.

But in the case of a marriage with someone other than a mother's brother, residence would be matrilocal—at least temporarily so—and there were economic obligations of such a groom to his father-in-law. Residence with the wife's kin and bride service continued until there had been a female (?) issue of the union. A female child, that is, constituted the promise of a return payment (by marriage) for the woman who had been "lost" in the initial marriage to a man from another extended family. In other words, matrilocality seems to have been temporary—until female issue was born—and it applied primarily in the case of a groom who was not the bride's mother's brother; otherwise, patrilocality.

The writer does not agree with Wagley and Galvão when they state that residence was (apparently permanently) matrilocal and when they appear to conclude that the marriage form reported for the early coastal Tupi may never have existed among the Cayuá. Over against their conclusion—and a point which cannot be fully developed here—are certain facts of Cayuá kinship terminology. Certain modern terminological provisions lack corresponding kinship behavior at the present time, and these discrepancies are particularly suggestive in the light of the avuncular system sketched above. At present, a sister's daughter is called by a special term, but she is so designated only by males. (Females do not call sister's daughter or, more particularly, brother's son by any parallel term.) "Daughter" is the term uniformly used for all other female relatives of the first descending generation, man speaking. Why then, a special term for sister's daughter, if not probably to express a special relationship? The implication is reinforced by the fact that such a special relationship, as we have said, is reported among the coastal Tupi, which fact must in turn be viewed in the light of the generally close similarity of the Cayuá with this and other Tupi-Guarani peoples, through both space and time.

The Cayuá kinship system otherwise was probably much the same aboriginally as at present. In Ego's generation all relatives were called "brother" and "sister," but same-sexed siblings were distinguished as "older" and "younger." That is, sisters were distinguished as to seniority by females, and brothers were so distinguished by males. Father's brother and mother's sister were classified with the respective parents of Ego, while father's sister and mother's brother were classified apart. Correspondingly, children of one's same-sexed siblings were considered as own children, while children of opposite-sexed siblings were called by special terms, logical equivalents of "nephew" and "niece." However, male Ego's term for "nephew," *ɨerí'ɣ*, was almost

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

position of *capitão* remained the single definite office of the village as a whole and a point from which power could be directed. But there is also still a tendency for an older man from each of the various kin nuclei to act as informal leader of such a group of relatives. Some of the kin groups now take on the appearance of factions within the village, and under the present system all but one faction must at any given time be officially "out of office." Wagley and Galvão have noted certain aspects of this arrangement among the Cayuá and have compared it to that of the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara (Guajajara), and Tupi-Guarani groups farther to the north in Brasil:

> This kinship system is correlated among the Cayuá, the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara with basically similar forms of social organization. All three tribes have now or had extended families headed up by an older man who attracts a group of young men into his group through matrilocal residence. Among the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara, an older man of some prestige gathers an extended family group about him by manipulation of the kinship system and by adoption of as many "daughters" as possible.[116]

The present "factions," which are largely the residuum of the aboriginal extended family system, are influential in proportion to their numbers and the prestige of their members and leaders. Their influence also depends, of course, on the extent to which the faction group accepts the assumption of leadership by the faction leader, and this is probably something less than in the past, when the then extended families lived under a single roof. Moreover, some adherents of present factions may have partially departed from the aboriginal principle of extended family kinship in forming their allegiances. Residence apparently determined allegiance aboriginally; that principle seems to have curbed any ambiguities of kin affiliation. But these ambiguities are greater now, without so strong a residence principle, and they may even permit individuals to affiliate somewhat as the spirit moves them. There are persons, for example, who come from outside the village and whose residence may be to a certain extent indeterminate at present. The ultimate adherence of these individuals to one faction or another, nevertheless, swells its numbers.

While it is not known whether any particular number of factions is typical of Cayuá villages, there were at Taquapiri in 1943 only two main factions that were politically active and hence in the foreground. There were about five or six other small kin nuclei whose political affiliation did not seem to be permanently committed. Most of these other nuclei took no prominent part in political maneuvers during our stay, but it is likely that their passive support, at least, was usually counted on by one or the other of the more active groupings.

[116] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, p. 22. The present writer disagrees with these authorities as to the rigidity and permanency implied for matrilocal residence, as far as the Cayuá are concerned.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

this is, to be sure, a rather unspecified influence. But when we note, as we have, the presence of just such other factors as would definitely favor the emergence of an elementary type of family, it becomes somewhat more to the point to mention even so unspecifiable an influence toward change as this. To say the very least, the changed sex division of labor would have had, so to speak, a loosening effect on the extended family. It may well be argued, furthermore, that the frictions an extended type of family will inherently generate are bound to cause its demise if supporting factors and those which mitigate friction are withdrawn, as it has been suggested they were in the present case.

One possible point of conflict of (II. B. a.) the increased importance of men in agriculture, and in the economy in general, with certain practices of the aboriginal extended family was the putative bride service of the pre-Conquest Cayuá. It is likely that bride service was weakened when the economic contribution of women decreased while that of men took the opposite turn. The argument is that bride service was based on the aboriginal woman's economic importance in the extended family. Her marriage, therefore, constituted a sizeable economic loss to her family and a consequent gain to the family into which she married. If this much is granted—and the evidence for aboriginal Cayuá bride service is admittedly not conclusive, it can readily be seen that a diminishing economic role of women would be a definite weakening factor in the custom of bride service.

Now bride service among the coastal and Paraguayan Tupi-Guarani, and putatively among the early Cayuá, was accompanied by the temporary matrilocal residence of a newly established married pair. This usage was necessarily integrated into the reigning extended type of family. It may be argued, therefore, that the gradual loss of bride service would mean the gradual discontinuance of temporary matrilocal residence. Any weakening of these usages, it is urged, would prepare the way for changes in the extended family system, such as neolocal or elementary family residence, particularly (and perhaps only) if there were other factors in the situation which also favored elementary family residence.[188]

If we assume warlikeness on the part of the aboriginal Cayuá (see pp. 38–39), or at least assume a standing need for defense against warring neighbors, it is not far-fetched to point out that the extended family probably had some func-

[188] What if matrilocality were the preeminent aboriginal rule of residence among the Cayuá (an hypothesis argued by some but not favored by the writer)? In that case, the present argument, at least, would be even clearer than it is. That is, a matrilocal extended family would be based presumably upon the importance in agriculture of a nucleus of cooperating kinswomen. A change in the sexual division of labor, with increased male importance in agriculture, quite conceivably would favor the gradual abandonment of matrilocality and hence possibly of any extended family at all. This would be even more likely if the suggestion proved to be correct that male labor in agriculture etc. has always been less joint or cooperative than female.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 182 595 peoples is open to question. The possibility of such an influence must certainly be kept in mind. As for the Neo-Brazilians, some direct influence against Cayuá polygyny is almost certain, though it has probably been quite limited. It has been limited both because of the ease of concealment from whites by Cayuá of their marital status, and because Neo-Brazilian influence in this respect could only be highly informal under existing conditions and not a matter of concerted action. Our own observations in the field lead to the opinion that the local whites actually have very little correct information of the Cayuá culture. They are to a large extent rather unconcerned about it, except in such matters as the availability of workers for *changa* and the suspicion of alleged property depredations by Indians. It seems reasonable, therefore, to consider direct white influences as but one more contributing factor in the decline of polygyny, not a cause set apart by its importance.

*177 182 582 602 II. B. f. "Kinship system: presumptive marital rights of mother's brother to sister's daughter (avuncular marriage) disappear." It has already been suggested that the Cayuá kinship system was aboriginally characterized by the avuncular form of marriage reported for the Coastal Tupi, although the former presence of the usage is not directly borne out by modern kinship practices. (See pp. 34–37.) At present, the mother's brother-sister's daughter marriage not only is not presumptive but is widely considered incestuous. Can we account for such a change in terms of acculturational factors and hence indirectly strengthen our contention of the aboriginal existence of this avuncular form? To do so, we will have to understand something of how the preferential marriage operated.[178]

621 The aboriginal Cayuá village was composed of several, rather independent households, each living in a single large dwelling or *tapúi*. Some sort of cohesive force is indicated as a means of linking the various households and lineages of the local Cayuá community. Marital ties are, of course, a well recognized, universal means of social cohesion; in simple communities they are the most im-
• 591 portant or even the exclusive means of inter-familial alliance. With patrilocal residence (coupled with temporary matrilocality, probably, in the case of a non-avuncular marriage) a completely feasible way of relating households through kinship was the marriage of the sister's daughter to the mother's brother, as shown in Figure 3. When the mother's brother's presumptive marriage was realized during successive generations, or even if it were somewhat less regularly realized, it served the purpose of closely relating one extended household to the other in the local community. With an extended family and a rule of patrilocality, the presumptive spouses came from different households and different extended families. Moreover, all members of Ego's own generation, cross and parallel cousins, at least of the first degree, were classed as siblings.

[178] In connection with the following hypothesis the writer is very much indebted to Professor Fred Eggan of the University of Chicago for discussions in which many of the important points were brought out. Some repetition of previous description unfortunately seems unavoidable here.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

separate or distant residence may be sufficient to warrant exclusion of a person from the incest group. The following speculation as to what has happened in Cayuá social organization is therefore offered: (1) As a result of acculturational forces (II. B. e.) extended families, which were formerly allied by certain matrimonial ties, have ceased to exist. The related matrimonial ties of alliance have likewise disappeared. (2) It was formerly significant, regarding permissible marriages, whether or not a woman belonged to one's own extended family and residence group. A man could not marry a woman belonging to his own residence group (nor could he wed sisters and parallel cousins) but he might marry one from another household, which would include, given patrilocal residence, sisters' daughters. (3) The significance of residence has been lost or changed since, at present, none but one's own wife and children (or parents and siblings, depending on the point of reference) normally lives in the same (elementary family) group. Thus sister's daughter is now in this respect no different from—in fact may be significantly parallel to—other female relatives who are and aboriginally were encompassed by Cayuá sentiments of incest.

The argument might be restated as follows: with the disappearance of the extended family, a type of preferential marriage or presumptive marital claim, as well as the particular notion of the incest boundary associated with it, were evidently subject to change. For one thing, there was no longer a question of cementing ties between particular extended family households, such as that into which a man's sister had married. Concerning ties between elementary families, since whatever marriage normally involves a spouse from some other elementary family, a marital alliance with one potential affinal group is theoretically as advantageous as with another. Moreover, in the former extended family the incest boundary apparently included all female relatives, at least to the degree of first cousin, and their children. The one exception was sister's daughter, man speaking. In the realignments attending the loss of the extended family, we suggest that the incest boundary came to include this formerly excepted relationship as well. Other things being equal, there would be a strain in such a direction. In the first place, both parallel and cross cousins are called brothers and sisters, and secondly, marriage with the children of brothers was aboriginally tabooed for men, while marriage with the children of any sibling was tabooed for women. The sister's-daughter marriage, therefore, in the new situation, and without special motives in its favor, would tend to be brought into line with the incest taboo against marriage with other relatives parallel to sister's daughter.

One function of the presumptive avuncular marriage was to "consolidate" a given household through marriage back into it of the female issue of its women. The possibility of such a correlation is strong aboriginally. This operated much as the cross-cousin marriage does in certain cultures. But with (II. B. e.) the dissolution of the extended family household in favor of the

/39 cont./

584 the initiative falling upon the mother of the girl. They told me
178 that, even when the boy and the girl did not greatly want to marry or even in the case where they were opposed to it, they were forced to satisfy the mothers' wishes. Nowadays the young man first consults the girl about the subject. Once the girl's consent has been obtained, he goes to deal with her father. If the latter consents to it, the marriage ordinarily is realized, but there are also cases in which the young man likewise applied to
585 the girl's mother. The marriage itself does not necessarily need to constitute an occurrence of great repercussion, but many times the brother or the father of the young man organizes a dance feast for the couple; and on this occasion the couple is counseled
[431] by some of the old men in the group. It is not necessary to give presents to the new couple, but the father or any other person
178 may give articles of food, etc. During the earlier period about
591 which I have spoken above, it was customary for the newlyweds to go to live in the girl's house. At that time the Cayuá lived almost exclusively in common houses, so that the couple never left the house of the girl's family. Nowadays a large percentage of the Cayuá own private houses, and if the young man, upon being married, has not yet built a house for himself and his wife, the couple, in theory, lives with the wife's family. Today, however, the cases in which the couple has gone to live in the house of the boy's family are frequent.

595 Monogamy constitutes the general manner of marriage among the present-day Cayuá, although there are no laws against polygamy. I heard mention of only a single case in which one of the men, before the death of his first wife, lived at the same time with another one, by whom he likewise had children. Since the death of the first one, the other one is considered the
836 wife of this man and lives with him. Promiscuity is not common,
837 and it is affirmed that the child of a frivolous woman will be very much a homebody, being obliged not to go into the forest because the jaguars would manage to devour him.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

Girls' puberty.—Among ancient *Guaraní*, at her first menstruation, a girl was sewn in her hammock and remained there for 2 or 3 days. Her hair was cut short and, until it grew to its former length, she had to forego meat and to work hard under the supervision of an older woman. For modern *Caingué* also, coming of age is a critical period which calls for many ritual observances; the girl is secluded for 3 weeks behind a screen in a corner of the house and eats only a few foods, which must be lukewarm. She must not talk, laugh, lift her eyes from the ground, scratch herself, or blow on the fire. She must also listen to advice concerning her future life as a wife and a mother. Before she resumes normal activities, a shaman washes her with a special decoction. 178 881 [756]

Marriage.—There is little information on marriage in ancient times. Girls were married soon after puberty. Child betrothal is reported among the *Guaraní* of the Paraná River. In some cases little girls were given to grown men, who lived with their child wives, probably in the house of their future parents-in-law. 178 582 584

Child betrothal is reported among modern *Caingué*, but the girls remain with their parents, who receive presents from their prospective sons-in-law. The preferred form of marriage seems to have been between cross-cousins and between a maternal uncle and his niece. Union with a mother and her daughter and sororal polygyny can be inferred from allusions in the Jesuitic literature. Only chiefs and influential shamans seem to have been able to support several wives. Some powerful caciques are said to have had from 15 to 30 wives. The levirate is stated by Ruíz de Montoya (1892, p. 49) to have been observed by chiefs. Today residence is patrilocal. 595 [174] [622] [756] 587 622 591•

Death.—So strong is the hope for reincarnation that a dying *Apapocuva* (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 307) accepts death with great fortitude. He sings medicine songs while women wail and the shamans chant, shaking their rattles in farewell to the departing soul. 763 775

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, as soon as a man had breathed his last, his wives and female relatives gave the most violent demonstrations of grief, often injuring themselves by flinging themselves to the ground from some elevation (Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52). 178 152 764

The ancient *Guaraní* put their dead into large chicha jars and covered them with a bowl. These funeral urns were buried up to the neck (Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).[4] Modern *Caingué* bury their dead directly in the ground with arms and legs flexed against the body or lay them with their possessions in a wooden trough or hollowed tree trunk. 178 764

Both ancient and some modern *Guaraní* bury their dead in the hut, which is immediately abandoned. The *Caingué* of Paraguay inter the 000

[4] Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52: " . . . muchos enterraban sus muertos en unas grandes tinajas, poniendo un plato en la boca para que en aquella concavidad estuviese mas acomodada el alma aunque estas tinajas los enterraban hasta el cuello."